SOUTH VIET NAM In Struggle

7th Year – January 29, 1973
No 184

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CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION

editorial

AN EPOCH-MAKING VICTORY

THE Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam was formally signed in Paris on January 27, 1973. It was a triumphant order of the day of our nation as a whole, of the US progressives and of progressive mankind. It has brought to an end US aggression against our country. Since 7 a.m. January 28, 1973, peace has been restored in both zones of our land. For the first time in a century, as a result of gruelling and long battle, there will soon not be any aggressor left in our territory. We have recovered our independence and freedom. Our people's sacred resistance has achieved an epoch-making victory, which fills us with pride and which we also hail as one of the world's peoples.

FOR our nation, it is a three-fold accomplishment : military, political and diplomatic, shared by the people and armed forces of both parts of the country, by every member of our nation. Our protracted and trying effort has attained its basic objectives and foiled the US vicious scheme to turn the Southern half of our country into a US base and colony.

WITH a formidable deployment of force needed for the preparation of a world conflict, the most powerful imperialism of our time waged with the most sophisticated weaponry the greatest, most brutal and most prolonged ever war of aggression on our nation to impose on the latter its neo-colonialism. But in nearly 20 years, our people successively frustrated various US war strategies and finally carried the day. In the accord reached with us, the US has been forced to pledge respect for Viet Nam independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. It is bound to withdraw all US and other countries' military advisers and personnel, and to remove all US military bases in South Viet Nam. It has undertaken to respect the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination and to abstain from interference in their internal affairs. Our Southern fellow-countrymen will be left to decide their own political future in a

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A historic event in Paris

The aeroplane which brought us back to Paris one day when streets there still resounded with shouts in support of Viet Nam and against the US. Paris had not ended landing heroic Hanoi with fine, warming words. Vietnamese residents meeting us at the airport cheered up unusually: "Hanoi's victorious fight makes every Vietnamese prouder and confers more glory on our country." A French journalist hugged me, saying "Hanoi defeated B-52s and saved mankind from a collapse."

Twelve days and nights of a splendid confrontation gave more weight to the voice of our delegates at the Paris Conference. Some hundred correspondents from all continents flew back to Paris to follow the final phase of the Conference, for it was clear to all that B-52 carpet bombings had not submitted a heroic people. The old clerk who served at the International Conference Centre in Kleber Street, in ceremonial dress and with a big silver insignia on his breast, told us: "I have been working at this Centre for over a decade. I have never seen in my life so long negotiations as those at the Paris Conference on Viet Nam. In five years the Centre has had twice to change the seats leather cover for the Vietnamese and American negotiators."

All passages inside the Centre are covered with woolen carpets but the revolutionary path of the Vietnamese people is a thorny, complex one, so was the struggle of their representatives at the bargaining table. On Monday January 1, 1973 experts of both sides checked up the agreed-up instruments so that they might be initialled the day after, and signed by the Foreign Ministers of the four parties at the Conference on January 27 morning, then by the Foreign Ministers of the DRVN and the USA.

The agreement unambiguously stipulates that the US and other countries respect the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam as is recognized by the 1954 Geneva Agreement. The US pledges not to involve militarily or otherwise interfere in South Viet Nam's own affairs, to respect the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination. That is a most important thing our people have just achieved. That has been their objective over the past few decades, for which they fought, braving 12 million tons of bombs. And that is a brilliant victory of theirs today.

On January 23, 1973 the International Conference Centre was splendidly decorated in wait for the supreme moment of the negotiations between us and the US that dragged on through 202 sessions in Kleber Street and 24 private meetings.

Special adviser Le Duc Tho, Minister Xuan Thuy and DRVN experts on the one hand, Dr Kissinger and American experts on the other, stepped into the "Presidential Room," blue-flowered woollen carpets on the floor. In this 60 square-metre room, Le Duc Tho sat under brilliant lustres, in front of two 17th century hand-woven Gobelin carpets with pasturing and fishing scenes of the French National Museum. Xuan Thuy was on his right, Kissinger and the American representatives opposite him.

Silence, a solemn and exciting silence, reigned in the Presidential Room. The large looking glass on the wall that shone under electric light seemed to make the room wider and higher. In front of the chief negotiators of the two sides lay the texts of the agreement and annexes printed in Vietnamese and English, with red silk covers and red seals. These documents crown thirty years of resistance of a valiant people to the toughest and longest aggressive war in history waged by the wealthiest and most powerful imperialism on earth.

All of our fellow-citizens and combatants, dead and living, have contributed to today's common victory. Our cherished Uncle Ho has not been able to witness it, but we owe it like any other success to his immense contribution.

Adviser Le Duc Tho and Dr Kissinger sat down, each holding a felt pen for wide lines and a deep-coloured ink. It was 12. 30, Paris time.

After initialling the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace, Le Duc Tho held out his pen to Kissinger, saying "Keep it for yourself as a reminder to implement the signed accord seriously." Kissinger, too, handed his own to his counterpart: "So do we wish to implement it."

In a large press conference at the Kleber Center attended by, among others, radio and TV correspondents working on the spot, Adviser Le Duc Tho appraised the outcome of the conference as follows:

"Justice has triumphed over injustice. Undaunted will has triumphed over brutality. To achieve such an agreement is a great victory for the Vietnamese people. That is the result of several decades of fighting of the Vietnamese armed forces and people on the battlefields, an extremely courageous fight full of sacrifices and hardships. That is a very great victory of the combat solidarity of the peoples of the three Indochinese countries always shoulder to shoulder with one another against the common enemy, for independence and freedom. That is also a great victory of the socialist countries, of the oppressed nations and of peace- and justice-loving popular segments the world over, including the American, who have shown solidarity with, and wholeheartedly backed the just cause of the Vietnamese people.

... The signing of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam is just an initial success. The struggle which follows for the implementation of the agreement is of greater importance."

Paris newspapers devoted big headlines and special pages to Viet Nam. Radio stations and TV gave more time to and successive comments on the agreement. This is regarded as a historic event having an impact on the situation in Southeast Asia and the world as a whole.

Formal signing of Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam

The formal signing of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam and the Protocols to it was solemnly performed at separate ceremonies at the International Conference Centre in Boulevard Kleber, Paris, on January 27, 1973.

The signing by the parties participating in the Paris Conference on Viet Nam was conducted at 10.00 GMT. The delegation of the DRVN Government was led by Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh. The delegation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam was led by Foreign Minister Mme Nguyen Thi Binh. The delegation of the Government of the United States of America was headed by Secretary of State William P. Rogers. The delegation of the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam was headed by Foreign Minister Tran Van Lam.

The foreign ministers of the four parties officially put their signatures to both the Vietnamese and English texts of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam and three Protocols to the Agreement concerning the ceasefire in South Viet Nam and the Joint Military Commissions, the International Commission of Control and Supervision, the Return of Captured military personnel and foreign civilians and captured and detained Vietnamese civilian personnel.

Taking part in the ceremony were the ambassadors of the four countries of the new International Commission of Control and Supervision—Poland, Canada, Hungary and Indonesia—, the Chief of Protocol of the French Foreign Ministry and the Director of the International Conference Centre.

The ceremony was followed by a Champagne offered by the French Government.

In the afternoon, also at the International Conference Centre, another signing was conducted by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, with the concurrence of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet Nam, and the Government of the United States of America, with the concurrence of the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam.

DRVN Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh and US Secretary of State William Rogers officially put their signatures to the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam and four Protocols to it, which included, apart from the three above-mentioned protocols, that concerning the removal, permanent deactivation or destruction of mines in the territoriol waters, ports, harbors, and waterways of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

The formal signing of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam and the Protocols to it has thus been completed, marking a great victory of the Vietnamese people and a historic day for the people of Viet Nam as well as for the progressive people the world over.

Special Adviser Le Duc Tho and Minister Xuan Thuy in the January 12, 1973 meeting with Dr H. Kissinger

Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam

THE parties participating in the Paris Conference on Viet Nam,

With a view to ending the war and restoring peace in Viet Nam on the basis of respect for the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights and the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination, and to contributing to the consolidation of peace in Asia and the world,

Have agreed on the following provisions and undertake to respect and to implement them :

CHAPTER I

THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S FUNDAMENTAL NATIONAL RIGHTS

Article 1. — The United States and all other countries respect the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam as recognized by the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam.

CHAPTER II

CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES — WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS

Article 2. — A ceasefire shall be observed throughout South Viet Nam as of 24.00 hours GMT on January 27, 1973.

At the same hour, the United States will stop all its military activities against the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam by ground, air and naval forces, wherever they may be based, and end the mining of the territorial waters, ports, harbors, and waterways of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The United States will remove, permanently deactivate or destroy all the mines in the territorial waters, ports, harbors, and waterways of North Viet Nam as soon as this Agreement goes into effect.

The complete cessation of hostilities mentioned in this Article shall be durable and without limit of time.

Article 3. — The parties undertake to maintain the ceasefire and to ensure a lasting and stable peace.

As soon as the ceasefire goes into effect :

a) The United States forces and those of the other foreign countries allied with the United States and the Republic of Viet Nam shall remain in-place pending the implementation of the plan of troop withdrawal. The Four-Party Joint Military Commission described in Article 16 shall determine the modalities.

b) The armed forces of the two South Vietnamese parties shall remain in-place. The Two-Party Joint Military Commission described in Article 17 shall determine the areas controlled by each party and the modalities of stationing.

c) The regular forces of all services and arms and the irregular forces of the parties in South Viet Nam shall stop all offensive activities against each other and shall strictly abide by the following stipulations :

— All acts of force on the ground, in the air, and on the sea shall be prohibited ;

— All hostile acts, terrorism and reprisals by both sides will be banned.

Article 4. — The United States will not continue its military involvement or intervene in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam.

Article 5. — Within sixty days of the signing of this Agreement, there will be a total withdrawal from South Viet Nam of troops, military advisers, and military personnel including technical military personnel and military personnel associated with the pacification program, armaments, munitions, and war material of the United States and those of the other foreign countries mentioned in Article 3 a). Advisers from the above-mentioned countries to all paramilitary organizations and the police force will also be withdrawn within the same period of time.

Article 6. — The dismantlement of all military bases in South Viet Nam of the United States and of the other foreign countries mentioned in Article 3 a) shall be completed within sixty days of the signing of this Agreement.

Article 7. — From the enforcement of the ceasefire to the formation of the government provided for in Articles 9 b) and 14 of this Agreement, the two South Vietnamese parties shall not accept the introduction of troops, military advisers,and military personnel including technical military personnel, armaments, munitions, and war material into South Viet Nam.

The two South Vietnamese parties shall be permitted to make periodic replacements of armaments, munitions and war material which have been destroyed, damaged, worn out or used up after the ceasefire, on the basis of piece-for-piece, of the same characteristics and properties, under the supervision of the Joint Military Commission of the two South Vietnamese parties and of the International Commission of Control and Supervision.

CHAPTER III

THE RETURN OF CAPTURED MILITARY PERSONNEL AND FOREIGN CIVILIANS, AND CAPTURED AND DETAINED VIETNAMESE CIVILIAN PERSONNEL

Article 8. — a) The return of captured military personnel and foreign civilians of the parties shall be carried out simultaneously with and completed not later than the same day as the troop withdrawal mentioned in Article 5. The parties shall exchange complete lists of the above-mentioned captured military personnel and foreign civilians on the day of the signing of this Agreement.

b) The parties shall help each other to get information about those military personnel and foreign civilians of the parties missing in action, to determine the location and take care of the graves of the dead so as to facilitate the exhumation and repatriation of the remains and to take any such other measures as may be required to get information about those still considered missing in action.

c) The question of the return of the Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and detained in South Viet Nam will be resolved by the two South Vietnamese parties on the basis of the principles of Article 21 b) of the Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Viet Nam of July 20, 1954. The two South Vietnamese parties will do so in a spirit of national reconciliation and concord, with a view to ending hatred and enmity, in order to ease suffering and to reunite families. The two South Vietnamese parties will do their utmost to resolve this question within ninety days after the ceasefire comes into effect.

CHAPTER IV

THE EXERCISE OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION

Article 9. — The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Government of the United States of America undertake to respect the following principles for the exercise of the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination :

a) The South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination is sacred, inalienable and shall be respected by all countries.

b) The South Vietnamese people shall decide themselves the political future of South Viet Nam through genuinely free and democratic general elections under international supervision.

c) Foreign countries shall not impose any political tendency or personality on the South Vietnamese people.

Article 10. — The two South Vietnamese parties undertake to respect the ceasefire and maintain peace in South Viet Nam, settle all matters of contention through negotiations, and avoid all armed conflict.

Article 11. — Immediately after the ceasefire, the two South Vietnamese parties will :

— achieve national reconciliation and concord, end hatred and enmity, prohibit all acts of reprisal and discrimination against individuals or organisations that have collaborated with one side or the other ;

— ensure the demoratic liberties of the people: personal freedom, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of meeting, freedom of organization, freedom of political activities, freedom of belief, freedom of movement, freedom of residence, freedom of work, right to property ownership, and right to free enterprise.

Article 12. — a) Immediately after the cease fire, the two South Vietnamese parties shall hold consultations in a spirit of national reconciliation and concord, mutual respect and mutual non-elimination to set up a National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord of three equal segments. The Council shall operate on the principle of unanimity. After the National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord has assumed its

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functions, the two South Vietnamese parties will consult about the formation of councils at lower levels. The two South Vietnamese parties shall sign an agreement on the internal matters of South Viet Nam as soon as possible and do their utmost to accomplish this within ninety days after the ceasefire comes into effect, in keeping with the South Vietnamese people's aspirations for peace, independence and democracy.

b) The National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord shall have the task of promoting the two South Vietnamese parties' implementation of this Agreement, achievement of national reconciliation and concord and ensurance of democratic liberties. The National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord will organize the free and democratic general elections provided for in Article 9 b) and decide the procedures and modalities of these general elections. The institutions for which the general elections are to be held will be agreed upon through consultations between the two South Vietnamese parties.

The National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord will also decide the procedures and modalities of such local elections as the two South Vietnamese parties agree upon.

Article 13. — The question of Vietnamese armed forces in South Viet Nam shall be settled by the two South Vietnamese parties in a spirit of national reconciliation and concord, equality and mutual respect, without foreign interference, in accordance with the postwar situation. Among the questions to be discussed by the two South Vietnamese parties are steps to reduce their military effectives and to demobilize the troops being reduced. The two South Vietnamese parties will accomplish this as soon as possible.

Article 14. — South Viet Nam with pursue a foreign policy of peace and independence. It will be prepared to establish relations with all countries irrespective of their political and social systems on the basis of mutual respect for independence and sovereignty and accept economic and technical aid from any country with no political conditions attached. The acceptance of military aid by South Viet Nam in the future shall come under the authority of the government set up after the general elections in South Viet Nam provided for in Article 9 b).

CHAPTER V

THE REUNIFICATION OF VIET NAM AND THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH VIET NAM

Article 15. — The reunification of Viet Nam shall be carried out step by step through peaceful means on the basis of discussions and agreements between North and South Viet Nam, without coercion or annexation by either party, and without foreign interference. The time for reunification will be agreed upon by North and South Viet Nam.

Pending reunification :

a) The military demarcation line between the two zones at the 17th parallel is only provisional and not a political or territorial boundary, as provided for in paragraph 6 of the Final Declaration of the 1954 Geneva Conference.

b) North and South Viet Nam shall respect the Demilitarized Zone on either side of the Provisional Military Demarcation Line.

c) North and South Viet Nam shall promptly start negotiations with a view to reestablishing normal relations in various fields. Among the questions to be negotiated are the modalities of civilian movement across the Provisional Military Demarcation Line.

d) North and South Viet Nam shall not join any military alliance or military bloc and shall not allow foreign powers to maintain military bases, troops, military advisers, and military personnel on their respective territories, as stipulated in the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam.

CHAPTER VI

THE JOINT MILITARY COMMISSIONS, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF CONTROL AND SUPERVISION, THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Article 16. — a) The parties participating in the Paris Conference on Viet Nam shall immediately designate representatives to form a Four-Party Joint Military Commission with the task of ensuring joint action by the parties in implementing the following provisions of this Agreement :

— The first paragraph of Article 2, regarding the enforcement of the ceasefire throughout South Viet Nam ;

— Article 3 a), regarding the ceasefire by US forces and those of the other foreign countries referred to in that Article ;

— Article 3 c), regarding the ceasefire between all parties in South Viet Nam ;

— Article 5, regarding the withdrawal from South Viet Nam of US troops and those of the other foreign countries mentioned in Article 3 a) ;

— Article 6, regarding the dismantlement of military bases in South Viet Nam of the United States and those of the other foreign countries mentioned in Article 3 a) ;

— Article 8 a), regarding the return of captured military personnel and foreign civilians of the parties ;

— Article 8 b), regarding the mutual assistance of the parties in getting information about those military personnel and foreign civilians of the parties missing in action.

b) The Four-Party Joint Military Commission shall operate in accordance with the principle of consultations and unanimity. Disagreements shall be referred to the International Commission of Control and Supervision.

c) The Four-Party Joint Military Commission shall begin operating immediately after the signing of this Agreement and end its activities in sixty days, after the completion of the withdrawal of US troops and those of the other foreign countries mentioned in Article 3 a) and the completion of the return of captured military personnel and foreign civilians of the parties.

d) The four parties shall agree immediately on the organization, the working procedure, means of activity, and expenditures of the Four-Party Joint Military Commission.

Article 17. — a) The two South Vietnamese parties shall immediately designate representatives to form a Two-Party Joint Military Commission with the task of ensuring joint action by the two South Vietnamese parties in implementing the following provisions of this Agreement :

— The first paragraph of Article 2, regarding the enforcement of the ceasefire throughout South Viet Nam, when the Four-Party Joint Military Commission has ended its activities ;

— Article 3 b), regarding the ceasefire between the two South Vietnamese parties ;

— Article 3 c), regarding the ceasefire between all parties in South Viet Nam, when the Four-Party Joint Military Commission has ended its activities ;

— Article 7, regarding the prohibition of the introduction of troops into South Viet Nam and all other provisions of this Article ;

— Article 8 c), regarding the question of the return of Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and detained in South Viet Nam ;

— Article 13, regarding the reduction of the military effectives of the two South Vietnamese parties and the demobilization of the troops being reduced.

b) Disagreements shall be referred to the International Commission of Control and Supervision.

c) After the signing of this Agreement, the Two-Party Joint Military Commission shall agree immediately on the measures and organization aimed at enforcing the ceasefire and preserving peace in South Viet Nam.

Article 18. — a) After the signing of this Agreement, an International Commission of Control and Supervision shall be established immediately.

b) Until the International Conference provided for in Article 19 makes definitive arrangements, the International Commission of Control and Supervision will report to the four parties on matters concerning the control and supervision of the implementation of the following provisions of this Agreement :

— The first paragraph of Article 2, regarding the enforcement of the ceasefire throughout South Viet Nam ;

— Article 3 a), regarding the ceasefire by US forces and those of the other foreign countries referred to in that Article ;

— Article 3 c), regarding the ceasefire between all the parties in South Viet Nam ;

— Article 5, regarding the withdrawal from South Viet Nam of US troops and those of the other foreign countries mentioned in Article 3 a) ;

— Article 6, regarding the dismantlement of military bases in South Viet Nam of the United States and those of the other foreign countries mentioned in Article 3 a) ;

— Article 8 a), regarding the return of captured military personnel and foreign civilians of the parties.

The International Commission of Control and Supervision shall form control teams for carrying out its tasks. The four parties shall agree immediately on the location and operation of these teams. The parties will facilitate their operation.

c) Until the International Conference makes definitive arrangements, the International Commission of Control and Supervision will report to the two South Vietnamese parties on matters concerning the control and supervision of the implementation of the following provisions of this Agreement :

— The first paragraph of Article 2, regarding the enforcement of the ceasefire throughout South Viet Nam, when the Four-Party Joint Military Commission has ended its activities ;

— Article 3 b), regarding the ceasefire between the two South Vietnamese parties ;

— Article 3 c), regarding the ceasefire between all parties in South Viet Nam, when the Four-Party Joint Military Commission has ended its activities ;

— Article 7, regarding the prohibition of the introduction of troops into South Viet Nam and all other provisions of this Article ;

— Article 8 c), regarding the question of the return of Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and detained in South Viet Nam ;

— Article 9 b), regarding the free and democratic general elections in South Viet Nam ;

— Article 13, regarding the reduction of the military effectives of the two South Vietnamese parties and the demobilisation of the troops being reduced.

The International Commission of Control and Supervision shall form control teams for carrying out its tasks. The two South Vietnamese parties shall agree immediately on the location and operation of these teams. The two South Vietnamese parties will facilitate their operation.

d) The International Commission of Control and Supervision shall be composed of representatives of four countries : Canada, Hungary, Indonesia and Poland. The chairmanship of this Commission will rotate among the members for specific periods to be determined by the Commission.

e) The International Commission of Control and Supervision shall carry out its tasks in accordance with the principle of respect for the sovereignty of South Viet Nam.

f) The International Commission of Control and Supervision shall operate in accordance with the principle of consultations and unanimity.

g) The International Commission of Control and Supervision shall begin operating when a ceasefire comes into force in Viet Nam. As regards the provisions in Article 18 b) concerning the four parties, the International Commission of Control and Supervision shall end its activities when the Commission tasks of control and supervision regarding these provisions have been fulfilled. As regards the provisions in Article 18 c) concerning the two South Vietnamese parties, the International Commission of Control and Supervision shall end its activities on the request of the government formed after the general elections in South Viet Nam provided for in Article 9 b).

h) The four parties shall agree immediately on the organisation, means of activity, and expenditures of the International Commission of Control and Supervision. The relationship between the International Commission and the International Conference will be agreed upon by the International Commission and the International Conference.

Article 19. — The parties agree on the convening of an International Conference within thirty days of the signing of this Agreement to acknowledge the signed agreements ; to guarantee the ending of the war, the maintenance of peace in Viet Nam, the respect of the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights and the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination ; and to contribute to and guarantee peace in Indochina.

The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the United States, on behalf of the parties participating in the Paris Conference on Viet Nam, will propose to the following parties that they participate in this International Conference : the People's Republic of China, the Republic of France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, the four countries of the International Commission of Control and Supervision, and the Secretary General of the United Nations, together with the parties participating in the Paris Conference on Viet Nam.

CHAPTER VII

REGARDING CAMBODIA AND LAOS

Article 20. — a) The parties participating in the Paris Conference on Viet Nam shall strictly respect the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Cambodia and the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos, which recognized the Cambodian and the Lao peoples' fundamental national rights, i,e., the independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity of these countries. The parties shall respect the neutrality of Cambodia and Laos.

The parties participating in the Paris Conference on Viet Nam undertake to refrain from using the territory of Cambodia and the territory of Laos to encroach on the sovereignty and security of one another and of other countries.

b) Foreign countries shall put an end to all military activities in Cambodia and Laos, totally withdraw from and refrain from reintroducing into these two countries troops, military advisers and military personnel, armaments, munitions and war material.

c) The internal affairs of Cambodia and Laos shall be settled by the people of each of these countries without foreign interference.

d) The problems existing between the Indochinese countries shall be settled by the Indochinese parties on the basis of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, and non-interferencc in each other's internal affairs.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM AND THE UNITED STATES

Article 21. — The United States anticipates that this Agreement will usher in an era of reconciliation with the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam as with all the peoples of Indochina. In pursuance of its traditional policy, the United States will contribute to healing the wounds of war and to postwar reconstruction of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and throughout Indochina.

Article 22. — The ending of the war, the restoration of peace in Viet Nam, and the strict implementation of this Agreement will create conditions for establishing a new, equal, and mutually beneficial relationship between the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the United States on the basis of respect for each other's independence and sovereignty and noninterference in each other's internal affairs. At the same time this will ensure stable peace in Viet Nam and contribute to the preservation of lasting peace in Indochina and Southeast Asia.

CHAPTER IX

OTHER PROVISIONS

Article 23. — The Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam shall enter into force upon signature of this document by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and by the Secretary of State of the Government of the United States, and upon the signature of a document in the same terms by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, the Secretary of State of the Government of the United States and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam. The Agreement and the Protocols to it shall be strictly implemented by all the parties concerned.

Done in Paris on January 27, 1973, in Vietnamese and in English. Both the Vietnamese and the English texts are official and equally authentic.

For the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam	For the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam	For the Government of the United States of America	For the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam
NGUYEN DUY TRINH	**NGUYEN THI BINH**	**WILLIAM ROGERS**	**TRAN VAN LAM**
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS	MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS	SECRETARY OF STATE	MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Text of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam signed by the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the United States

In the afternoon of January 27, 1973 in Paris, together with the signing by the 4 parties of the Conference of :

— The Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam.

The Foreign Minister of the DRVN and the Foreign Minister of the United States also signed :

— The Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam by Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh and Foreign Minister W. Rogers, which is entirely similar to the above agreement in paragraphs 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and differs only in the Preface and paragraph with the following content :

PREFACE

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, with the concurrence of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam,

The Government of the United States of America with the concurrence of the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam,

With a view to ending the war and restoring peace in Viet Nam on the basis of respect for the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights and the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination, and to contributing to the consolidation of peace in Asia and the world,

Have agreed on the following provisions and undertake to respect and to implement them :

CHAPTER IX

OTHER PROVISIONS

Article 33. — The Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam shall enter into force upon signature of this document by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Democratic Repnblic of Viet Nam and by the Secretary of State of the Government of the United States, and upon the signature of a document in the same terms by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, the Secretary of State of the Government of the United States and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam. The Agreement and the Protocols to it shall be strictly implemented by all the parties concerned.

Done in Paris on January 27, 1973, in Vietnamese and in English. Both the Vietnamese and the English texts are official and equally authentic.

For the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam	For the Government of the United States of America
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS	SECRETARY OF STATE

Protocol to the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam concerning the cease-fire in South Viet Nam and the joint military commissions

THE parties participating in the Paris Conference on Viet Nam,

In implementation of the first paragraph of Article 2, Article 3, Article 5, Article 6, Article 16 and Article 17 of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam signed on this date which provide for the cease-fire in South Viet Nam and the establishment of a Four-Party Joint Military Commission and a Two-Party Joint Military Commission,

Have agreed as follows:

CEASE-FIRE IN SOUTH VIET NAM

Article 1

The High Commands of the parties in South Viet Nam shall issue prompt and timely orders to all regular and irregular armed forces and the armed police under their command to completety end hostilities throughout South Viet Nam, at the exact time stipulated in Article 2 of the Agreement and ensure that these armed forces and armed police comply with these orders and respect the cease-fire.

Article 2

a) As soon as the cease-fire comes into force and until regulations are issued by the Joint Military Commissions, all ground, river, sea and air combat forces of the parties in South Viet Nam shall remain in place; that is, in order to ensure a stable cease-fire, there shall be no major redeployments or movements that would extend each party's area of control or would result in contact between opposing armed forces and clashes which might take place.

b) All regular and irregular armed forces and the armed police of the parties in South Viet Nam shall observe the prohibition of the following acts:

1. Armed patrols into areas controlled by opposing armed forces and flights by bomber and fighter aircraft of all types, except for unarmed flights for proficiency training and maintenance;

2. Armed attacks against any person, either military or civilian, by any means whatsoever, including the use of small arms, mortars, artillery, bombing and strafing by airplanes and any other type of weapon or explosive device;

3. All combat operations on the ground, on rivers, on the sea and in the air;

4. All hostile acts, terrorism or reprisals, and

5. All acts endangering lives or public or private property.

Article 3

a) The above-mentioned prohibitions shall not hamper or restrict:

1. Civilian supply, freedom of movement, freedom to work, and freedom of the people to engage in trade, and civilian communication and transportation between and among all areas in South Viet Nam;

2. The use by each party in areas under its control of military support elements, such as engineer and transportation units, in repair and construction of public facilities; and the transportation and supplying of the population;

3. Normal military proficiency training conducted by the parties in the areas under the respective control with due regard to public safety.

b) The Joint Military Commissions shall immediately agree on corridors, routes and other regulations governing the movement of military transport aircraft, military transport vessels of all types of one party going through areas under the control of other parties.

Article 4

In order to avert conflict, ensure normal conditions for those armed forces which are in direct contact, and pending regulations by the Joint Military Commission, the commanders of the opposing armed forces at those places of direct contact shall meet as soon as the cease-fire comes into force with a view to searching an agreement on temporary measures to avert conflict and to ensure supply and medical care for these armed forces.

Article 5

a) Within fifteen days after the cease-fire comes into effect, each party shall do its utmost to complete the removal or deactivation of all demolition objects, mine-fields, traps, obstacles or other dangerous objects placed previously so as not to hamper the population's movement and work, in the first place on waterways, roads and railroads in South Viet Nam. Those mines which cannot be removed or deactivated within that time shall be clearly marked, and must be removed or deactivated as soon as possible.

b) Emplacement of mines is prohibited, except as a defensive measure around the edges of military installations in places where they do not hamper the population's movement and work, and movement on waterways, roads and railroads. Mines and other obstacles already in place at the edges of military installations may remain in place if they are in places where they do not hamper the population's movement and work, and movement on waterways, roads and railroads.

Article 6

Civilian police and civilian security personnel of the parties in South Viet Nam, who are responsible for the maintenance of law and order, shall strictly respect the prohibitions set forth in Article 2 of this Protocol. As required by their responsibilities, normally they shall be authorized to carry pistols, but when required by unusual circumstances, they shall be allowed to carry other small individual arms.

Article 7

a) The entry into South Viet Nam of replacement armament, munitions, and war material permitted under Article 7 of the Agreement shall take place under the supervision and control of the Two-Party Joint Military Commission and of the International Commission of Control and Supervision and through such points of entry only as are designated by the two South Vietnamese parties. The two South Vietnamese parties shall agree on these points of entry within fifteen days after the entry into force of the ceasefire.

The two South Vietnamese parties may select as many as six points of entry which are not included in the list of places where teams of the International Commission of Control and Supervision are to be based contained in Article 4 (d) of the protocol concerning the International Commission. At the same time the two South Vietnamese parties may also select points of entry from the list of places set forth in Article 4 (d) of that Protocol.

b) Each of the designated points of entry shall be available only for that South Vietnamese party which is in control of that point. The two South Vietnamese parties shall have an equal number of points of entry.

Article 8

a) In implementation of Article 5 of the Agreement, the United States and the other foreign countries referred to in Article 5 of the Agreement shall take with them all their armaments, munitions, and war material. Transfers of such items which would leave them in South Viet Nam shall not be made subsequent to the entry into force of the Agreement except for transfers of communications, transport, and other non-combat material to the Four-Party Joint Military Commission or the International Commission of Control and Supervision.

b) Within five days after the entry into force of the cease-fire, the United States shall inform the Four-Party Joint Military Commission and the International Commission for Control and Supervision of the general plans for timing of complete troop withdrawals which shall take place in four phases of fifteen days each. It is anticipated that the numbers of troops withdrawn in each phase are not likely to be widely different, although it is not feasible to ensure equal numbers.

The approximate numbers to be withdrawn in each phase shall be given to the Four-Party Joint Military Commission and the International Commission of Control and Supervision sufficiently in advance of actual withdrawals so that they can properly carry out their tasks in relation thereto.

Article 9

a) In implementation of Article 6 of the Agreement, the United States and the other foreign countries referred to in that article shall dismantle and remove from South Viet Nam or destroy all military bases in South Viet Nam of the United States and of the other foreign countries referred to in that Article, including weapons, mines, and other military equipment at these bases, for the purpose of making them unusable for military purposes.

b) The United States shall supply the Four-Party Joint Military Commission and the International Commission of Control and Supervision with necessary information on plans for base dismantlement so that those commissions can properly carry out their tasks in relation thereto.

THE JOINT MILITARY COMMISSIONS

Article 10

a) The implementation of the Agreement is the responsibility of the parties signatory to the Agreement by serving as a channel of communication among the parties, by drawing up plans and fixing the modalities to carry out, coordinate, follow and inspect the implementation of the provisions mentioned in Article 16 of the Agreement, and by negotiating and settling all matters concerning the implementation of those provisions.

(Continued on page 7)

b) The concrete tasks of the Four-Party Joint Military Commission are :

1) To coordinate, follow and inspect the implementation of the above-mentioned provisions of the Agreement by the four parties ;

2) To deter and detect violations, to deal with cases of violation, and to settle conflicts and matters of contention between the parties relating to the above-mentioned provisions ;

3) To dispatch without delay one or more joint teams, as required by specific cases, to any part of South Viet Nam, to investigate alleged violations of the Agreement and to assist the parties in finding measures to prevent recurrence of similar cases ;

4) To engage in observation at the places where this is neccesary in the exercise of its functions ;

5) To perform such additional task as it may, by unanimous decision, determine.

Article 11

a) There shall be a Central Joint Military Commission located in Saigon. Each party shall designate immediately a military delegation of fifty-nine persons to represent it on the Central Commission. The senior officer designated by each party shall be a general officer, or equivalent.

b) There shall be seven Regional Joint Military Commissions located in the regions shown on the annexed map and based at the following places :

Region	*Places*
I	Hue
II	Da Nang
III	Pleiku
IV	Phan Thiet
V	Bien Hoa
VI	My Tho
VII	Can Tho

Each party shall designate a military delegation of sixteen persons to represent it on each Regional Commission. The senior officer designated by each party shall be an officer from the rank of Lieutenant Colonel to Colonel, or equivalent.

c) There shall be a joint military team operating in each of the areas shown on the annexed map and based at each of the following places in South Viet Nam :

Region I
Quang Tri
Phu Bai

Region II
Hoi An
Tam Ky
Chu Lai

Region III
Kontum
Hau Bon
Phu Cat
Tuy An
Ninh Hoa
Ban Me Thuot

Region IV
Da Lat
Bao Loc
Phan Rang

Region V
An Loc
Xuan Loc
Ben Cat
Cu Chi
Tan An

Region VI
Moc Hoa
Giong Trom

Region VII
Tri Ton
Vinh Long
Vi Thanh
Khanh Hung
Quan Long

Each party shall provide four qualified persons for each joint military team. The senior person designated by each party shall be an officer from the rank of Major to Lieutenant Colonel, or equivalent.

d) The Regional Joint Military Commissions shall assist the Central Joint Military Commission in performing its tasks and shall supervise the operations of the joint military teams. The region of Saigon-Gia Dinh is placed under the responsibility of the Central Commission which shall designate joint military teams to operate in this region.

e) Each party shall be authorized to provide support and guard personnel for its delegations to the Central Joint Military Commission and Regional Joint Military Commissions, and for its members of the joint military teams. The total number of support and guard personnel for each party shall not exceed five hundred and fifty.

f) The Central Joint Military Commission may establish such joint sub-Commissions, joint staffs and joint military teams as circumstances may require. The Central Commission shall determine the numbers of personnel required for any additional sub-commission staffs or teams it establishes, provided that each party shall designate one-fourth of the number of personnel required and that the total number of personnel for the Four-Party Joint Military Commission, to include its staffs, teams, and support personnel, shall not exceed three thousand three hundred.

g) The delegations of the two South Vietnamese parties may, by agreement, establish provisional sub-commissions and joint military teams to carry out the tasks specifically assigned to them by Article 17 of the Agreement. With respect to Article 7 of the agreement, the two South Vietnamese parties' delegations to the Four-Party Joint Military Commission shall establish joint military teams at the points of entry into South Viet Nam used for the replacement of armaments, munitions and war material which are designated in accordance with Article 7 of this Protocol. From the time the cease-fire comes into force to the time when the Two-Party Joint Military Commission becomes operational, the two South Vietnamese parties' delegations to the Four-Party Joint Military Commission shall form a provisional sub-commission and provisional joint military teams to carry out its tasks concerning captured and detained Vietnamese civilian personnel. Where necessary for the above purposes, the two South Vietnamese parties may agree to assign personnel additional to those assigned to the two South Vietnamese delegations to the Four-Party Joint Military Commission.

Article 12

a) In accordance with Article 17 of the Agreement which stipulates that the two South Vietnamese parties shall immediately designate their respective representatives to form the Two-Party Joint Military Commission, twenty four hours after the cease-fire comes into force, the two designated South Vietnamese parties' delegations to the Two-Party Joint Military Commission shall meet in Saigon so as to reach an agreement as soon as possible on organization and operation of the Two-Party Joint Military Commission, as well as the measures and organization aimed at enforcing the cease-fire and preserving peace in South Viet Nam.

b) From the time the cease-fire comes into force to the time when the Two-Party Joint Military Commission becomes operational, the two South Vietnamese parties' delegations to the Four-Party Joint Military Commission at all levels shall simultaneously assume the tasks of the Two-Party Joint Military Commission at all levels, in addition to their functions as delegations to the Four-Party Joint Military Commission.

c) If, at the time the Four-Party Joint Military Commission ceases its operation in accordance with Article 16 of the Agreement, agreement has not been reached on organisation of the Two-Party Joint Military Commission, the delegations of the two South Vietnamese parties serving with the Four-Party Joint Military Commission at all levels shall continue temporarily to work together as a provisional joint two-party military commission and to assume the task of the Two-Party Joint Military Commission at all levels until the Two-Party Joint Military Commission becomes operational.

Article 13

In application of the principle of unanimity, the Joint Military Commissions shall have no chairmen, and meetings shall be convened at the request of any representative. The Joint Military Commissions shall adopt working procedures appropriate for the effective discharge of their functions and responsibilities.

Article 14

The Joint Military Commissions and the International Commission of Control and Supervision shall closely cooperate with and assist each other in carrying out their respective functions. Each Joint Military Commission shall inform the International Commission about the implementation of those provisions of the Agreement for which that Joint Military Commission has responsibility and which are within the competence of the International Commission. Each Joint Military Commission may request the International Commission to carry out specific observation activities.

Article 15

The Central Four-Party Joint Military Commission shall begin operating twenty four hours after the cease-fire comes into force. The Regional Joint Military Commission shall begin operating forty eight hours after the cease-fire comes into force. The joint military teams based at the places listed in Article 11 (c) of this Protocol shall begin operating no later than fifteen days after the ceasefire comes into force. The delegations of the two South Vietnamese parties shall simultaneously begin to assume the tasks of the Two-Party Joint Military Commission as provided in Article 12 of this Protocol.

Acticle 16

a) The parties shall provide full protection and all necessary assistance and cooperation to the Joint Military Commissions at all levels, in the discharge of their tasks.

b) The Joint Military Commissions and their personnel, while carrying out their tasks, shall enjoy privileges and immunities equivalent to those accorded diplomatic missions and diplomatic agents.

c) The personnel of the Joint Military Commissions may carry pistols and wear special insignia decided upon by each Central Joint Military Commission. The personnel of each party while guarding Commission installations or equipment may be authorized to carry other individual small arms, as determined by each Central Joint Military Commission.

Acticle 17

a) The delegation of each party to the Four-Party Joint Military Commission and the Two-Party Joint Military Commission shall have its own offices, communication, logistics and transportation means, including aircraft when necessary.

b) Each party, in its areas of control shall provide appropriate office and accommodation facilities to the Four-Party Joint Military Commission and the Two-Party Joint Military Commission at all levels.

c) The parties shall endeavor to provide to the Four-Party Joint Military Commission and the Two-Party Joint Military Commission, by means of loan, lease, or gift, the common means of operation including equipment for communication, supply, and transport, including aircraft when necessary. The Joint Military Commissions may purchase from any source necessary facilities, equipment and services which are not supplied by the parties. The Joint Military Commissions shall possess and use these facilities and this equipment.

d) The facilities and the equipment for common use mentioned above shall be returned to the parties when the Joint Military Commissions have ended their activities.

Acticle 18

The common expenses of the Four-Party Joint Military Commission shall be borne equally by the four parties, and the common expenses of the Two-Party Joint Military Commission in South Viet Nam shall be borne equally by these two parties.

Acticle 19

This Protocol shall enter into force upon signature by plenipotentiary representatives of the parties participating in the Paris Conference on Viet Nam. It shall be strictly implemented by all the parties concerned.

Done in Paris this twenty-seventh day of January, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Seventy Three, in Vietnamese and English. The Vietnamese and English texts are official and equally authentic.

For the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam	For the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam	For the Government of the United States of America	For the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam
NGUYEN DUY TRINH	**NGUYEN THI BINH**	**WILLIAM ROGERS**	**TRAN VAN LAM**
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS	MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS	SECRETARY OF STATE	MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

appeal

of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam

Beloved countrymen and combatants,

THE Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam solemnly makes the following proclamation to all our compatriots:

On January 27, 1973, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs, plenipotentiary representatives of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam, signed the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam.

The main contents of the agreement are as follow:

The United States and the other countries commit themselves to respect the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam,

The United States shall completely end the war of aggression, its military involvement and its intervention in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam,

The right to self determination of the South Vietnamese people shall be respected and their democratic liberties shall be ensured. The South Vietnamese people shall determine themselves their political future through genuinely free and democratic general elections.

The reunification of Viet Nam shall be carried out step by step by peaceful means.

Countrymen and combatants,

The war of aggression waged by US imperialism has ended. Peace has been restored in our country.

This great victory is the result of more than eighteen years of fierce fighting, of our heroic people as a whole, of our combatants and people in the South who, overcoming innumerable sacrifices and hardships, have fought with persistency, who are the first to stand up for the resistance and the last to enjoy peace, always proving themselves worthy of being the "Iron Fort of the Fatherland."

Our entire nation is the victor. Anyone carrying the Vietnamese blood in his being, who really loves the country and the people, has the right to be proud and has his share in the common glory.

Glory belongs first of all to the best sons and daughters of the people, the heroes, heroines and martyrs who have laid down their lives for the Fatherland.

Glory belongs to the heroic liberation armed forces who have made brilliant exploits, and to all the valiant sons and daughters of the country who, in defiance of repression and emprisonment, have resolutely struggled against US aggression, for national salvation, to liberate the South.

This victory of the Vietnamese nation is also a victory of the peoples of the three fraternal countries on the Indochinese peninsula, who have united and fought against the common enemy. It is also the victory of all the independence- and freedom-loving nations, of the whole progressive mankind, including the American people who have justice and peace at heart.

This great victory of our Vietnamese people proves that in the present era, a nation who, even with no large territory and no big population, have a judicious revolutionary line, know how to unite the entire people and achieve international solidarity, is determined to fight and win, can certainly defeat any aggressive foe.

Beloved countrymen and combatants,

The dawn of peace, the glory of victory is radiating all over our land.

Before our people, a new period is being opened and a new situation is being created, very advantageous for the completion of the national and democratic revolution.

However, our people's struggle has not ceased to be a difficult and complicate one. The reactionary, militarist and fascist forces dependent on foreign countries, are hatching many dark schemes to sabotage peace and oppose the independence, democracy and national concord.

That is why, the task of our people at present is to strive in the spirit of national concord, to unite the entire people, be determined to firmly maintain peace and genuine independence and sovereignty, exercise democratic freedoms, improve the people's living conditions, build a peaceful, independent, democratic and prosperous South Viet Nam and proceed to the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland.

Officers and combatants of the People's Liberation Armed Forces,

Continue your endeavours under the banner of defending peace, independence and democracy and defending the signed Agreement.

Implement seriously the ceasefire order and in any of your contacts with republican soldiers, you should treat them as brothers and take the first step in realizing the great cause of national concord.

Officers and soldiers in the army of the Saigon administration,

Peace is a common victory. To maintain peace firmly, to love the country and people and in your personnel happiness, may you co-operate with the liberation fighters in seriously implementing the ceasefire and avoid all regrettable conflicts.

The position of the Front, Government and our people is as clear as daylight and shines with justice.

The attitude of the Front, Government and our people is very sincere and full of goodwill.

In these important moments of our national history, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam hopes that the Saigon administration place the interests of the Fatherland above all, meet the demands of all strata of our people, rapidly form, through sincere consultations, a National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord with three equal segments at all levels in order to arrive at the early holding of genuinely free and democratic general elections so that the South Vietnamese people may freely decide their political regime. Let the two parties together seriously implement all provisions of the agreement, fully carry out all democratic liberties of the people, heal the wounds of war, look after our compatriots' life to enable them to enjoy soon a happy and plenty life, promptly establish normal relations in all fields with the North and hold early negotiations with the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam Government to advance to the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland.

Beloved blood-sealed compatriots in the North,

Before the glorious victory of the nation, the armed forces and people in the South are all the more sensitive to the fraternal sentiments and great services of the heroic armed forces and people in the North in the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation. The South Vietnamese people have complete confiance in the twenty two million of our compatriots who are building North Viet Nam to make it strong and firm in all fields to serve as a prop for the whole country in the struggle to firmly preserve peace, achieve independence and democracy and proceed to the peaceful reunification of the country.

The National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam wish to convey to the brotherly Cambodian people under the leadership of the National United Front of Kampuchea aud the Cambodian Royal Government of National Union, and to the brotherly Lao people under the leadership of the Lao Patriotic Front, the sincere gratitude for their unreserved support and precious assistance to the Vietnamese people's resistance for national salvation. May the noble solidarity among the peoples of our three countries on the Indochinese peninsula strengthen with every passing day.

The National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam extend their deep gratitude to the Governments of the brother countries, international organizations, as well as the peace- and justice- loving people all over the world for their heartfelt support and generous assistance to the Vietnamese people's resistance.

The NFL and the PRG of the RSVN extend to the progressive people in the United States their warm congratulations on the common victory won for the sake of peace and the interests of the two peoples.

We earnestly hope that the valuable international solidarity and support will continue and grow with regard to the struggle to consolidate peace and to achieve the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people and the right to setf-determination of the South Vietnamese peoples.

The PRG of the RSVN, the only authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people, declares that it shall maintain and develop friendly relations with those countries that have established diplomatic relations with the RSVN, and is ready to set up diplomatic relations with all other countries on the basis of respect for each other's independence and sovereignty, of equality and mutual benefits.

Beloved countrymen and combatants,

In these joyful days of victory, everyone of us turns his thought to the great services of the venerated and beloved President Ho Chi Minh.

His sacred Testament constantly illuminates the road to the inevitable victory of our people.

In order to be worthy of his boundless solicitude, the armed forces and people in the South pledge to always uphold the banner of peace, independence, democracy and national concord, and resolutely strive for new victories.

Upholding together with the people in the rest of the country, the victorious banner of the nation, the 18 million South Vietnamese people in a strengthened position and with redoubled force and united more closely than ever before, are determined to struggle to consolidate peace and promote victory, and will certainly achieve a peaceful, independent, democratic and prosperous South Viet Nam with a view to the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland.

Let the people and combatants of heroic South Viet Nam march forward enthusiastically.

important victories on the diplomatic front

Recently, at the special session of the Standing Committee of the Council of Ministers of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the RSVN, Foreign Minister Nguyen Thi Binh, Head of the Delegation of the PRG of the RSVN to the four-party Paris Conference on Viet Nam, delivered an important report on the diplomatic activities of the RSVN in 1972.

After listening to the report, President Huynh Tan Phat highlighted the victories recorded by our people on the diplomatic front and expressed the profound gratitude of the South Viet Nam people, National Front for Liberation and Provisional Revolutionary Government to the peoples and governments of the fraternal countries and friends throughout the world for their heartfelt sympathy and vigorous support to the Vietnamese people's anti-US resistance, for national salvation. The Standing Committee of the Council of Ministers also laid down the direction and tasks for the diplomatic activities of the RSVN in the period to come.

Following are excerpts of the report delivered by Foreign Minister Nguyen Thi Binh :

OUR struggle on the diplomatic front in the past year, waged in hard and complicated conditions, won very important victories, contributing to the common success of the anti-US fight, for national salvation of the entire Vietnamese people.

I — Though having sustained heavy setbacks on the battlefields and facing numerous difficulties in many fields, the Nixon administration remains stubborn and perfidious, it is dragging on and stepping up the war of aggression in Viet Nam and Indochina, and resorting to all diplomatic tricks to sow the illusion of peace; but it is facing ever sterner condemnation and utter isolation on the international arena.

...Taking heavy losses in Viet Nam and Indochina, and facing numerous difficulties on the economic, financial, political and social fields in the United States, in the last year of his first presidential term, Nixon made all efforts both on military and diplomatic fields in the hope of saving the "Vietnamization of the war" strategy from total failure, dragging on the war of aggression in Viet Nam and winning another presidential term.

On the international arena, Nixon tirelessly ballyhooed about an "era of negotiation," feverishly materialized the "Nixon doctrine," pushed ahead his counter-revolutionary peaceful evolution by dividing and weakening the world's revolution. Meanwhile, he took advantage of the reconciliation tendency between various countries to pressurize the Vietnamese people and restrain the support from friends in the five continents to our anti-US fight, for national salvation.

Dealing with the Viet Nam and Indochina issue, the US proposed tricky "peace plans," as expounded in the January 25 and May 8 speeches of Nixon, to cover up its scheme to prolong and step up the war of aggression and soothe public opinion in the world and in the United States which has been strongly condemning the serious step of war escalation taken by the US in Viet Nam.

...However, contrary to its expectation, the Viet Nam issue figured prominently in the race into the White House, and was also the focus of the world's attention.

In October 1972, the Nixon administration had to negotiate in a business like manner and reached with the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam an "Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam." However, obdurate and perfidious by nature, the Nixon administration delayed the signing of the agreement and stringed the puppet Nguyen Van Thieu to sabotage it. Having won the second term of presidency, Nixon put forth a series of arrogant proposals, demanding the revision of the reached agreement. More serious still, the US imperialists brazenly mustered all their strategic air force in Southeast Asia and the Pacific and other planes of the latest models to carpet-bomb Hanoi capital, Haiphong port city and other areas in North Viet Nam. This new step of war escalation taken by the US imperialists met with due punishment from our countrymen in the North. Having sustained enormons losses both military and political, they again clamored about their "goodwill for negotiations," to fool public opinion and sow an illusion of peace.

II — With our correct stand and serious attitude and goodwill on the diplomatic front, we have driven the enemy into a position of utter isolation, passiveness and bewilderment, winning the sympathy and strong support from the peoples and governments of the peace - and justice - loving countries throughout the world.

In close coordination with the military and political struggle on the battlefield, in the past year, on the diplomatic front, we repeatedly attacked the enemy, upheld the just stand of our people and unmasked the obdurate and bellicose stand and the tricky diplomatic moves of the US aggressors and puppets.

On the basis of the consistent stand that the US must respect the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights and the South Vietnamese people's right of self-determination and end its war of aggression and all involvement in South Viet Nam, we have always proved our serious attitude and goodwill in negotiations and issued many important initiatives aimed at solving the South Viet Nam question.

In early 1972, we announced the February 2 Statement rejecting Nixon's deceitful eight-point "peace plan" and clarified the two key issues of the PRG's seven-point proposal. After six months of the offensive and uprising which recorded extremely great victories, on November 9, 1972 proceeding from the present reality that there are two administrations, two armies and three political forces in South Viet Nam and proceeding from the aspiration for peace and national concord of all strata of the South Vietnamese people, we issued an important statement advancing concrete initiatives. This fair and just initiative has won the approval of the entire Vietnamese people and the sympathy and support of public opinion throughout the world including the United States, contributing to the conclusion between the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the US government of the "Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam" on October 20, 1972.

...In our Dec. 16, 1972 Statement, we sternly rejected in clear-cut terms all US arrogant demands aimed at destroying the October 20, 1972 Agreement which the US itself had reached with the DRVN Government, exposed before the public opinion at home and abroad the US massive delivery of tens of thousands of tons of arms and war means to South Viet Nam and introduction of tens of thousands of disguised military "advisors" to command the puppet army and the handing over of US military bases to the puppet army with a view to continuing the war of aggression and prolonging the US involvement in South Viet Nam. We pointed out clearly that the Thieu puppet administration is only a tool for the US aggression and all his words and deeds are prompted by the US. Broad public opinion in the world has recognized our correct stand and goodwill attitude, hence has intensified its support for us and demanded the US to sign immediately the "Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam."

III — With our correct diplomatic line, we have intensified our international activities, won the world people's strong sympathy and support, contributed to the consolidation and expansion of the international solidarity front in support of the Vietnamese and other Indochinese peoples' fight against US aggression, for national salvation.

...We pointed to the irremediable setbacks of the "Vietnamization of the war" policy and repudiated all the falsehoods of the US on the "success of the 'Vietnamization' program." At the same time, we have convinced world opinion of the extremely perfidious and barbarous nature of the US-puppets in the implementation of this policy with repeated bloody terror campaign against the various strata of the people in areas still under their control.

Meanwhile, we also showed our correct attitude before international events and actively supported those nations struggling against imperialism and colonialism, old and new, for the sake of independence, peace, democracy and social progress. We have helped our fraternal countries and friends better realize that the extremely hard struggle full of sacrifices of our people is not only for the interests of our nation but is also closely associated with the common revolutionary struggle of the world's people.

In the past year, we appointed many delegations of the NFL and PRG and of mass organizations affiliated to the Front to make friendly visits to various countries and take part in international conferences, gaining the sympathy and support from the governments, political parties and wide sections of people in various countries ten of which we visited for the first time. We gave special concern to the anti-war movement in the United States and made the US public understand better the cruel and perfidious character of the Nixon administration and see clearly that the US war of aggresssion in Viet Nam has been seriously affecting the internal situation and the international prestige of the USA in many respects.

Never before have the people in the world condemned with such vehemence the US aggressors and sympathized so strongly with and supported and encouraged with such eagerness our people as they did in the past year.

At a time when the Nixon administration used all perfidious moves in a bid to isolate Viet Nam and crush the offensive and uprising of our people across South Viet Nam, the militant solidarity between the three brotherly Indochinese peoples became stronger, the assistance of the socialist countries became greater and more effective, the sympathy and support from the nationalist countries, peace-and justice-loving countries and the people in the world more powerful while the non-aligned countries also intensified their support for the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

No words can describe all the warm sentiments and fine acts of the world's people in support of the Vietnamese people's fight against US aggression, for national salvation, especially at the time when the Nixon administration

(*Continued on page* 16)

Protocol to the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam concerning the International Commission of Control and Supervision

THE parties partipating in the Paris Conference on Viet Nam,

In implementation of Article 18 of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam signed on this date providing for the formation of the International Commission of Control and Supervision,

Have agreed as follows :

Article 1

The implementation of the Agreement is the responsibility of the parties signatory to the Agreement.

The functions of the International Commission are to control and supervise the implementation of the provisions mentioned in Article 18 of the Agreement. In carrying out these functions, the International Commission shall :

a) Follow the implementation of the above-mentioned provisions of the Agreement through communication with the parties and on-the-spot observation at the places where this is required ;

b) Investigate violations of the provisions which fall under the control and supervision of the Commission ;

c) When necessary, cooperate with the Joint Military Commissions in deterring and detecting violations of the above-mentioned provisions.

Article 2

The International Commission shall investigate violations of the provisions described in Article 18 of the Agreement on the request of the Four-Party Joint Military Commission, or of the Two-Party Joint Military Commission, or of any party, or, with respect to Article 9 (b) of the Agreement on general elections, of the National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord, or in any case where the International Commission has other adequate grounds for considering that there has been a violation of those provisions. It is understood that, in carrying out this task, the International Commission shall function with the concerned parties' assistance and cooperation as required.

Article 3

a) When the International Commission finds that there is a serious violation in the implementation of the Agreement or a threat to peace against which the Commission can find no appropriate measure, the Commission shall report this to the four parties to the Agreement so that they can hold consultations to find a solution.

b) In accordance with Article 18 (f) of the Agreement, the International Commission's reports shall be made with the unanimous agreement of the representatives of all the four members. In case no unanimity is reached, the Commission shall forward the different views to the four parties in accordance with Article 18 (b) of the Agreement, or to the two South Vietnamese parties, in accordance with Article 18 (c) of the Agreement, but these shall not be considered as reports of the Commission.

Article 4

a) The headquarters of the International Commission shall be at Saigon.

(b) There shall be seven regional teams located in the regions shown on the annexed map and based at the following places :

Regions	*Place*
I	Hue
II	Danang
III	Pleiku
IV	Phan Thiet
V	Bien Hoa
VI	My Tho
VII	Can Tho

The International Commission shall designate three teams for the region of Saigon-Gia Dinh.

c) There shall be twenty six teams operating in the areas shown on the annexed map and based at the following places in South Viet Nam :

Region I Quang Tri, Phu Bai

Region II Hoi An, Tam Ky, Chu Lai.

Region III Kontum, Hau Bon, Phu Cat, Tuy An, Ninh Hoa, Ban-Me-Thuot.

Region IV Da Lat, Bao Loc, Phan Rang.

Region V An Loc, Xuan Loc, Ben Cat, Cu Chi, Tan An.

Region VI Moc Hoa, Giong Trom.

Region VII Tri Ton, Vinh Long, Vi Thanh, Khanh Hung, Quan Long.

d) There shall be twelve teams located as shown on the annexed map and based at the following places :

Gio Linh (to cover the area South of the Provisional Military Demarcation Line)

Lao Bao
Ben Het
Duc Co
Chu Lai
Quy Nhon
Nha Trang
Vung Tau
Xa Mat
Bien Hoa airfield
Hong Ngu
Can Tho

e) There shall be seven teams six of which shall be available for assignment to the points of entry which are not listed in paragraph (d) above and which the two South Vietnamese parties choose as points for legitimate entry areas to South Viet Nam for replacement of armaments, munitions, and war material permitted by Article 7 of the Agreement. Any team or teams not needed for the above-mentioned assignment shall be available for other tasks in keeping with the Commission's responsibility for control and supervision.

f) There shall be seven teams to control and supervise the return of captured and detained personnel of the parties.

Article 5

(a) To carry out its tasks concerning the return of the captured military personnel and foreign civilians of the parties as stipulated by Article 8 (a) of the Agreement, the International Commission shall, during the time of such return, send one control and supervision team to each place in Viet Nam where the captured persons are being returned, and to the last detention places from which these persons will be taken to the places of return.

(Continued on page 11)

(Continued from page 10)

b) To carry out its tasks concerning the return of the Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and detained in South Viet Nam mentioned in Article 8 (c) of the Agreement, the International Commission shall, during the time of such return, send one control and supervision team to each place in South Viet Nam where the above-mentioned captured and detained persons are being returned, and to the last detention places from which these persons will be taken to the places of return.

Article 6

To carry out its tasks regarding Article 9 (b) of the Agreement on the free and democratic general elections in South Viet Nam, the International Commission shall organize additional teams, when necessary. The International Commission shall discuss this question in advance with the National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord. If additional teams are necessary for this purpose, they shall be formed thirty days before the general elections.

Article 7

The International Commission shall continually keep under review its size, and shall reduce the number of its teams, its representatives or other personnel, or both, when those teams, representatives or personnel have accomplished the tasks assigned to them and are not required for other tasks. At the same time, the expenditures of the International Commission shall be reduced correspondingly.

Article 8

Each member of the International Commission shall make available at all times the following numbers of qualified personnel:

a) One senior representative and twenty-six others for the headquarters staff.

b) Five for each of the seven regional teams.

c) Two for each of the other International Control teams, except for the teams at Gio Linh and Vung Tau, each of which shall have three.

d) One hundred sixteen for the purpose of providing support to the Commission Headquarters and its teams.

Article 9

a) The International Commission, and each of its teams, shall act as a single body comprising representatives of all four members.

b) Each member has the responsibility to ensure the presence of its representatives at all levels of the International Commission. In case a representative is absent, the member concerned shall immediately designate a replacement.

Article 10

a) The parties shall afford full cooperation, assistance, and protection to the International Commission.

b) The parties shall at all times maintain regular and continuous liaison with the International Commission. During the existence of the Four-Party Joint Military Commissions the delegations for the parties to that commission shall also perform liaison function with the International Commission. After the Four-Party Joint Military Commission has ended its activities, such liaison shall be maintained through the Two-Party Joint Military Commission, liaison missions, or other adequate means.

c) The International Commission and the Joint Military Commissions shall closely cooperate with and assist each other in carrying out their respective functions.

d) Wherever a team is stationed or operating, the concerned party shall designate a liaison officer to the team to cooperate with and assist it in carrying out without hindrance its task of control and supervision. When a team is carrying out an investigation, a liaison officer from each concerned party shall have the opportunity to accompany it, provided the investigation is not thereby delayed.

e) Each party shall give the International Commission reasonable advance notice of all proposed actions concerning those provisions of the Agreement that are to be controlled and supervised by the International Commission.

f) The International Commission, including its teams, is allowed such movement for observation as is reasonably required for the proper exercise of its functions as stipulated in the Agreement. In carrying out these functions, the International Commission, including its teams, shall enjoy all necessary assistance and cooperation from the parties concerned.

Article 11

In supervising the holding of the free and democratic general elections described in Articles 9 (b) and 12 (b) of the Agreement in accordance with modalities to be agreed upon between the National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord and the International Commission, the latter shall receive full cooperation and assistance from the National Council.

Article 12

The International Commission and its personnel who have the nationality of a member state shall, while carrying out their tasks, enjoy privileges and immunities equivalent to those accorded diplomatic missions and diplomatic agents.

Article 13

The International Commission may use the means of communication and transport necessary to perform its functions. Each South Vietnamese party shall make available for rent to the International Commission appropriate office and accommodation facilities and shall assist it in obtaining such facilities. The International Commission may receive from the parties, on mutually agreeable terms, the necessary means of communication and transport and may purchase from any source necessary equipment and services not obtained from the parties. The International Commission shall possess these means.

Article 14

The expenses for the activities of the International Commission shall be borne by the parties and the members of the International Commission in accordance with the provisions of this Article:

a) Each member country of the International Commission shall pay the salaries and allowances of its personnel.

b) All other expenses incurred by the International Commission shall be met from a fund to which each of the four parties shall contribute twenty-three percent (23%) and to which each member of the International Commission shall contribute two percent (2%).

c) Within thirty days of the date of entry into force of this Protocol, each of the four parties shall provide the International Commission with an initial sum equivalent to four and a half million (4,500,000) French francs in convertible currency, which sum shall be credited against the amounts due from that party under the first budget.

d) The International Commission shall prepare its own budgets. After the International Commission approves a budget, it shall transmit it to all parties signatory to the Agreement for their approval. Only after the budgets have been approved by the four parties to the Agreement, shall they be obliged to make their contributions. However in case the parties to the Agreement do not agree on a new budget, the International Commission shall temporarily base its expenditures on the previous budget except for the extraordinary, one-time expenditures for installation or for the acquisition of equipment, and the parties shall continue to make their contributions on that basis until a new budget is approved.

Article 15

a) The headquarters shall be operational and in place within twenty-four hours after the cease-fire.

b) The regional teams shall be operational and in place and three teams for supervision and control of the return of the captured and detained personnel shall be operational and ready for despatch within forty-eight hours after the cease-fire.

c) Other teams shall be operational and in place within fifteen to thirty days after the cease-fire.

Article 16

Meetings shall be convened at the call of the Chairman. The International Commission shall adopt other working procedures appropriate for the effective discharge of its functions and consistent with respect for the sovereignty of South Viet Nam.

Article 17

The Members of the International Commission may accept the obligations of this Protocol by sending notes of acceptance to the four parties signatory to the Agreement. Should a member of the International Commission decide to withdraw from the International Commission, it may do so by giving three months notice by means of notes to the four parties to the Agreement, in which case those four parties shall consult among themselves for the purpose of agreeing upon a replacement member.

Article 18

This Protocol shall enter into force upon signature by plenipotentiary representatives of the parties participating in the Paris Conference on Viet Nam. It shall be strictly implemented by all the parties concerned.

Done in Paris this twenty-seventh day of January, one thousand nine hundred and seventy-three, in Vietnamese and English. The Vietnamese and English texts are official and equally authentic.

For the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam	For the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam	For the Government of the United States of America	For the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam
NGUYEN DUY TRINH	**NGUYEN THI BINH**	**WILLIAM ROGERS**	**TRAN VAN LAM**
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS	MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS	SECRETARY OF STATE	MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Protocol to the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam concerning the return of captured military personnel and foreign civilians and captured and detained Vietnamese civilian personnel

THE Parties participating in the Paris Conference on Viet Nam,

In implementation of the provisions of Article 8 of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam, signed this date providing for the return of captured military personnel and foreign civilians, and captured and detained Vietnamese civilian personnel,

Have agreed as follows :

THE RETURN OF CAPTURED MILITARY PERSONNEL AND FOREIGN CIVILIANS

Article 1

The parties signatory to the Agreement shall return the captured military personnel of the parties mentioned in Article 8 (a) of the Agreement as follows :

— all captured military personnel of the United States and those of the other foreign countries mentioned to in Article 3 (a) of the Agreement shall be returned to United States authorities.

— all captured Vietnamese military personnel, whether belonging to regular or irregular armed forces, shall be returned to the two South Vietnamese parties ; they shall be returned to that South Vietnamese party under whose command they served.

Article 2

All captured civilians who are nationals of the United States or of any other foreign countries mentioned to in Article 3 (a) of the Agreement shall be returned to United States authorities. All other captured foreign civilians shall be returned to the authorities of their country of nationality by any one of the parties willing and able to do so.

Article 3

The parties shall today exchange complete lists of captured persons mentioned in Articles 1 and 2 of this Protocol.

Article 4

a) The return of all captured persons mentioned in Articles 1 and 2 of this Protocol shall be completed within sixty days of the signing of the Agreement at a rate no slower than the rate of withdrawal from South Viet Nam of United States forces and those of the other foreign countries mentioned in Article 5 of the Agreement.

b) Persons who are seriously ill, wounded or maimed, old persons and women shall be returned first. The remainder shall be returned either by returning all from one detention place after another or in order of their dates of capture, beginning with those who have been held the longest.

Article 5

The return and reception of the persons mentioned in Articles 1 and 2 of this Protocol shall be carried out at places convenient to the concerned parties. Places of return shall be agreed upon by the Four-Party Joint Military Commission. The parties shall ensure the safety of personnel engaged in the return and reception of those persons.

Article 6

Each party shall return all captured persons mentioned in Articles 1 and 2 of this Protocol without delay and shall facilitate their return and reception. The detaining parties shall not deny or delay their return for any reason, including the fact that captured persons may, on any grounds, have been prosecuted or sentenced.

THE RETURN OF CAPTURED AND DETAINED VIETNAMESE CIVILIAN PERSONNEL

Article 7

a) The question of the return of Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and detained in South Viet Nam will be resolved by the two South Vietnamese parties on the basis of the principles of Article 21 (b) of the Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Viet Nam of July 20, 1954, which reads as follows :

"The term 'civilian internees' is understood to mean all persons who, having in any way contributed to the political and armed struggle between the two parties, have been arrested for that reason and have been kept in detention by either party during the period of hostilities."

b) The two South Vietnamese parties will do so in a spirit of national reconciliation and concord with a view to ending hatred and enmity in order to ease suffering and to reunite families. The two South Vietnamese parties will do their utmost to do so within ninety days after the ceasefire comes into effect.

c) Within fifteen days after the ceasefire comes into effect, the two South Vietnamese parties shall exchange lists of the Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and detained by each party and lists of the places at which they are held.

TREATMENT OF CAPTURED PERSONS DURING CAPTIVITY

Article 8

a) All captured military personnel of the parties and captured foreign civilians of the parties shall be treated humanely at all times, and in accordance with international practice.

They shall be protected against all violence to life and person, in particular against murder in any form, mutilation, torture and cruel treatment, and outrages upon personal dignity. These persons shall not be forced to join the armed forces of the detaining party.

They shall be given adequate food, clothing, shelter, and the medical attention required for their state of health. They shall be allowed to exchange post-cards and letters with their families and receive parcels.

b) All Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and detained in South Viet Nam shall be treated humanely at all times, and in accordance with international practice.

They shall be protected against all violence to life, and person, in particular against murder in any form, mutilation, torture and cruel treatment, and outrages against personal dignity. The detaining parties shall not deny or delay their return for any reason, including the fact that captured persons may, on any grounds, have been prosecuted or sentenced. These persons shall not be forced to join the armed forces of the detaining party.

They shall be given adequate food, clothing, shelter, and the medical attention required for their state of health. They shall be allowed to exchange post-cards and letters with their families and receive parcels.

Article 9

a) To contribute to improving the living conditions of the captured military personnel of the parties and foreign civilians of the parties, the parties shall, within fifteen days after the ceasefire comes into effect, agree upon the designation of two or more national Red Cross Societies to visit all places where captured military personnel and foreign civilians are held.

b) To contribute to improving the living conditions of the captured and detained Vietnamese civilian personnel, the two South Vietnamese parties shall, within fifteen days after the ceasefire comes into effect, agree upon the designation of two or more national Red Cross Societies to visit all places where the captured and detained Vietnamese civilian personnel are held.

(Continued on page 13)

WITH REGARD TO DEAD AND MISSING PERSONS

Article 10

a) The Four-Party Joint Military Commission shall ensure joint action by the parties in implementing Article 8 (b) of the Agreement. When the Four-Party Joint Military Commission has ended its activities, a Four-Party Joint Military team shall be maintained to carry on this task.

b) With regard to Vietnamese civilian personnel dead or missing in South Viet Nam, the two South Vietnamese parties shall help each other to obtain information about missing persons, determine the location and take care of the graves of the dead in a spirit of national reconciliation and concord, in keeping with the people's aspirations.

OTHER PROVISIONS

Article 11

a) The Four-Party and Two-Party Joint Military Commissions will have the responsibility of determining immediately the modalities of implementing the provisions of this Protocol consistent with their respective responsibilities under Articles 16 (a) and 17 (a) of the Agreement. In case the military commission, when carrying out their tasks, cannot reach agreement on a matter pertaining to the return of captured personnel they shall refer to the International Commission for its assistance.

b) The Four-Party Joint Military Commission shall form in addition to the teams established by the Protocol concerning the ceasefire in South Viet Nam and the Joint Military Commissions, a sub-commission on captured persons, and, as required, Joint Military Teams on captured persons to assist the Commission in its tasks.

c) From the time the ceasefire comes into force to the time when the Two-Party Joint Military Commission becomes operational, the two South Vietnamese parties' delegations to the Four-Party Joint Military Commission shall form a provisional sub-commission and provisional joint military teams to carry out its tasks concerning captured and detained Vietnamese civilian personnel.

d) The Four-Party Joint Military Commission shall send Joint Military Teams to observe the return of the persons mentioned in Articles 1 and 2 of this Protocol at each place in Viet Nam where such persons are being returned, and at the last detention places from which these persons will be taken to the places of return. The Two-Party Joint Military Commission shall send Joint Military Teams to observe the return of Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and detained at each place in South Viet Nam where such persons are being returned, and at the last detention places from which these persons will be taken to the places of return.

Article 12

In implementation of Articles 18 (b) and 18 (c) of the Agreement the International Commission of Control and Supervision shall have the responsibility to control and supervise the observance of Articles 1 through 7 of this Protocol through observation of the return of captured military personnel, foreign civilians and captured and detained Vietnamese civilian personnel at each place in Viet Nam where these persons are being returned, and at the last detention places from which these persons will be taken to the places of return, the examination of lists and the investigation of violations of the provisions of the above-mentioned Articles.

Article 13

Within five days after signature of this Protocol, each party shall publish the text of the Protocol and communicate it to all the captured persons covered by the Protocol and being detained by that party.

Article 14

This Protocol shall come into force upon signature by plenipotentiary representatives of all the parties participating in the Paris Conference on Viet Nam. It shall be strictly implemented by all the parties concerned.

Done in Paris this twenty seventh day of January, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Seventy Three, in Vietnamese and English. The Vietnamese and English texts are official and equally authentic.

For the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam	For the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam	For the Government of the United States of America	For the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam
NGUYEN DUY TRINH	**NGUYEN THI BINH**	**WILLIAM ROGERS**	**TRAN VAN LAM**
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS	MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS	SECRETARY OF STATE	MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Texts of the Protocols signed by the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the United States

On January 27-1973 in Paris, together with the signing by the 4 parties of the Conference of :

— The Protocol to the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam concerning the cease-fire in South Viet Nam and the Joint Military Commissions ;

— The Protocol to the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam concerning the International Commission of Control and Supervision ;

— The Protocol to the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam concerning the return of captured military personnel, and foreign civilians and captured and detained Vietnamese civilian personnel,

The Foreign Minister of the DRVN and the Foreign Minister of the United States also signed :

THE PROTOCOL TO THE AGREEMENT ON ENDING THE WAR AND RESTORING PEACE IN VIET NAM CONCERNING THE CEASEFIRE IN SOUTH VIET NAM AND THE JOINT MILITARY COMMISSIONS

That Protocol is entirely similar to the text of the Protocol signed by the 4 parties of the Paris Conference on Viet Nam in Articles 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18. It differs only in the preface and in article 19 with the following content :

PREFACE

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam with the concurrence of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam,

The Government of the United States of America with the concurrence of the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam,

In implementation of the first paragraph of Article 2, Article 3, Article 5, Article 6, Article 16 and Article 17 of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam signed on this date provide for the cease-fire in South Viet Nam and the establishment of a Four-Party Joint Military Commission and a Two-Party Joint Military Commission,

Have agreed as follows :

Article 19

The Protocol to the Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam concerning the cease-fire in South Viet Nam and the Joint Military Commissions shall enter into force upon signature of this document by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Secretary of State of the Government of the United States of America, and upon signature of a document in the same terms by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, the Secretary of State of the Government of the United States of America and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam. This Protocol shall be strictly implemented by all the parties concerned.

Done in Paris this twenty-seventh day of January, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Seventy Three, in Vietnamese and English. The Vietnamese and English texts are official and equally authentic.

For the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam	For the Government of the United States of America
NGUYEN DUY TRINH	**WILLIAM ROGERS**
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS	SECRETARY OF STATE

(Continued from page 15)

Protocol to the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam concerning the removal, permanent deactivation or destruction of mines in the territorial waters, ports, harbors, and waterways of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam

THE Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam,

The Government of the United States of America,

In implementation of the second paragraph of Article 2 of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam, signed on this date,

Have agreed as follows:

Article 1

The United States shall clear all the mines it has placed in the territorial waters, ports, harbors, and waterways of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. This mine clearing operation shall be accomplished by rendering the mines harmless through removal, permanent deactivation, or destruction.

Article 2

With a view to ensuring lasting safety for the movement of people and watercraft and the protection of important installations, mines shall, on the request of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, be removed or destroyed in the indicated areas; and whenever their removal or destruction is impossible, mines shall be permanently deactivated and their emplacement clearly marked.

Article 3

The mine clearing operation shall begin at twenty four (24.00) hours GMT on January twenty seventh, one thousand nine hundred and seventy three. The representatives of the two parties shall consult immediately on relevant factors and agree upon the earliest possible target date for the completion of the work.

Article 4

The mine clearing operation shall be conducted in accordance with priorities and timing agreed upon by the two parties. For this purpose, representatives of the two parties shall meet at an early date to reach agreement on a program and a plan of implementation. To this end:

a) The United States shall provide its plan for mine clearing operations, including maps of the minefields and information concerning the types, numbers and properties of the mines;

b) The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam shall provide all available maps and hydrographic charts and indicate the mined places and all other potential hazards to the mine clearing operations that the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is aware of;

c) The two parties shall agree on the timing of implementation of each segment of the plan and provide timely notice to the public at least forty eight hours in advance of the beginning of mine clearing operations for that segment.

Article 5

The United States shall be responsible for the mine clearance on inland waterways of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam shall, to the full extent of its capabilities, actively participate in the mine clearance with the means of surveying, removal and destruction and technical advice supplied by the United States.

Article 6

With a view to ensuring the safe movement of people and watercraft on waterways and at sea, the United States shall in the mine clearing process supply timely information about the progress of mine clearing in each area, and about the remaining mines to be destroyed. The United States shall issue a communiqué when the operations have been concluded.

Article 7

In conducting the mine clearing operations, the US personnel engaged in these operations shall respect the sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and shall engage in no activities inconsistent with the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam and this Protocol. The US personnel engaged in the mine clearing operations shall be immune from the jurisdiction of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam for the duration of the mine clearing operations.

The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam shall ensure the safety of the US personnel for the duration of their mine clearing activities on the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and shall provide this personnel with all possible assistance and the means needed in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam that have been agreed upon by the two parties.

Article 8

This Protocol to the Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam shall enter into force upon signature by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Secretary of State of the Government of the United States of America. It shall be strictly implemented by the two parties.

Done in Paris this twenty seventh day of January, one thousand nine hundred and seventy three, in Vietnamese and English. The Vietnamese and English texts are official and equally authentic.

For the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam

NGUYEN DUY TRINH
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

For the Government of the United States of America

WILLIAM ROGERS
SECRETARY OF STATE

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PLAF Command order

The following order was issued at 22.30 hrs January 27, 1973, by the Command of the South Viet Nam People's Liberation Armed Forces :

TO all the officers and men of the main forces, the regional forces, and guerilla forces throughout South Viet Nam,

The Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam was signed at the Paris Conference on Viet Nam today, January 27, 1973.

This is a historic victory, a very great, very glorious one, of the great struggle conducted by our nation against US aggression and for national salvation. It is the victory of the almost two decades of extremely valiant and arduous strug le of the people in the whole of our country, and of the invincible strength of the militant solidarity of our compatriots in both the two zones.

This historic victory is also the result of the joint efforts of the three Indochinese peoples,the national liberation movements in the world, the great and efficacious support and assistance of the fraternal socialist countries, and the struggle of the whole world people for peace, democracy and social progress, and against imperialism.

Our nation has won a great victory. Peace has been restored in our country. Yet, there are aggressive forces which, dependent on foreigners, have not stopped trying to divide our nation and sever our country to serve neo-colonialism in the South. These forces are seeking to hinder the implementation of the agreement, undermine national concord, sabotage peace, and rekindle hostilities.

Our people's revolutionary struggle will remain to be arduous and complicate in the new stage. Our armed forces, therefore, must join the entire people in a resolute effort to consolidate peace, make the other side implement the agreement scrupulously, achieve independence and democracy, increase the people's welfare, materialize national concord, and proceed towards the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland strictly along the provisions of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam just concluded.

Upon instruction of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, the Command of the South Viet Nam People's Liberation Armed Forces orders the following :

All units of the main force army, the regional forces and the guerilla forces will observe a ceasefire throughout South Viet Nam beginning from 7 a.m. the Twenty-Eighth Day of January of theYear One Thousand Nine Hundred and Seventy-Three (Hanoi time), or 8 a.m. the Twenty-Eighth Day of January of the Year One Thousand Nine Hundred and Seventy-Three (Saigon time).

What all the officers and men of the PLAF must do is :

1 — To fully appreciate the great victory of our people's revolutionary struggle, see through the schemes of the reactionary forces, realize the tasks and functions of the PLAF in the new stage, and place absolute confidence in the clearsighted leadership of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam ;

2 — Always to enhance their will to fight and their revolutionary vigilance, join the entire people in the resolute effort to defend the liberated zone, protect the lives and property of the people, be on the lookout, and ready to crush all schemes and acts of provocation of the enemy to wreck the agreement, undermine peace and resume hostilities ;

3 — To make all-out effort to increase the strength and combat capability of the PLAF in all fields and make them the firm backing of the political struggle of the entire people for peace, independence, democracy, welfare, national concord, and the eventual peaceful reunification of the Fatherland ;

4 — To strictly carry out all the policies adopted by the NFL and the RSVN PRG for this new stage of the revolution, and strengthen discipline within the army and in relation to the people ;

5 — To take part actively to the construction of the liberated zone to make it strong and firm in all respects, make greater efforts in public relations, develop the forces of revolution, unite with the people unreservedly, and give them all necessary help to bring their life back to normal and step up productive work ;

6 — To give protection and assistance to the Four-Party and Two-Party Joint Military Commissions, whose duty is to ensure co-ordinate actions of the parties for the correct implementation of the provisions of the agreement, and provide protection and assistance to the International Commission of Control and Supervision, which has the duty to control and supervise the correct implementation of the provisions of the agreement.

Let all the officers and men uphold the revolutionary nature and glorious tradition of the PLAF, which have always been an army of "Boundless Loyalty, Matchless Valour and Certain Victory," to bring our people's revolutionary cause to final victory.

(Continued from page 13)

THE PROTOCOL TO THE AGREEMENT ON ENDING THE WAR AND RESTORING PEACE IN VIET NAM CONCERNING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF CONTROL AND SUPERVISION

That Protocol is entirely similar to the text of the Protocol signed by the 4 parties of the Paris Conference on Viet Nam in articles 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17. It differs only in the Preface and in article 18 with the following content :

PREFACE

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, with the concurrence of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam,

The Government of the United States of America, with the concurrence of the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam,

In implementation of Article 18 of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam signed on this date providing for the formation of the International Commission of Control and Supervision,

Have agreed as follows :

Article 18

The Protocol to the Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Kestoring Peace in Viet Nam concerning the International Commission of Control and Supervision shall enter into force upon signature of this document by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Secretary of State of the Government of the United States of America, and upon signature of a document in the same terms by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, the Secretary of State of the Government of the United States of America and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam. This Protocol shall be strictly implemented by all the parties concerned.

Done in Paris this twenty-seventh day of January,One Thousand Nine Hundred and Seventy Three in Vietnamese and English. The Vietnamese and English texts are official and equally authentic.

For the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam

NGUYEN DUY TRINH
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

For the Government of the United States of America

WILLIAM ROGERS
SECRETARY OF STATE

THE PROTOCOL TO THE AGREEMENT ON ENDING THE WAR AND RESTORING PEACE IN VIET NAM CONCERNING THE RETURN OF CAPTUPED MILITARY PERSONNEL AND FOREIGN CIVILIANS AND CAPTURED AND DETAINED VIETNAMESE CIVILIAN PERSONNEL

That Protocol is entirely similar to the text of the Protocol signed by the 4 partics of the Paris Conference on Viet Nam in articles 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13. It differs only in the Preface and in article 14 with the following content :

PREFACE

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, with the concurrence of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam,

The Government of the United States of America, with the concurrence of the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam.

In implementation of the provisions of Article 8 of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam, signed this date providing for the return of captured military personnel and foreign civilians, and captured and detained Vietnamese civilian personnel,

Have agreed as follows :

Article 14

The Protocol to the Paris Agreement on Ending the war and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam concerning the Return of Captured Military Personnel and Foreign Civilians and Captured and Detained Vietnamese Civilian Personnel shall enter into force upon signature of this document by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Secretary of State of the Government of the United States of America, and upon signature of a document in the same terms by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, the Secretary of State of the Government of the United States of America, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam. This Protocol shall be strictly implemented by all the parties concerned.

Done in Paris this twenty-seventh day of January, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Seventy Three, in Vietnamese and English. The Vietnamese and English texts are official and equally authentic.

For the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam

NGUYEN DUY TRINH
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

For the Government of the United States of America

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important victories on the diplomatic front

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took new steps of military adventure and escalated its war of aggression, piling untold heinous crimes against our people. This is the revolt of human conscience and a extremely great encouragement to the just and extremely glorious struggle of our people.

IV — The influence of the South Viet Nam revolution under the banner of the NFL and the role and position of the PRG have unceasingly risen on the international arena.

The US imperialists have tried by all means to stamp out the South Vietnamese people's fight and refused to recognize the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the RSVN, but the reality in the past year was a blow to the US design.

The resounding victories of the South Viet Nam armed force and people, particularly their strategic offensive begun in March 1972, have drawn the attention of international public opinion and brought joy to our brothers and friends all over the world. On the other hand, our important initiatives on the diplomatic front have contributed to driving the US-puppets deeper into a position of passiveness and decline. On the military, political and diplomatic fields, we repeatedly attacked the enemy and proved clearly the victorious and powerful position of our people and the weak and losing position of the US-puppets.

The greater are the world's people's confidence in and admiration for the South Viet Nam revolution, the higher are the position and role of the NFL and PRG—the authentic representative of the South Viet Nam people on the world's arena. The conference of over 60 non-aligned countries held in Georgetown in August solemnly recognized the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam as full member of the non-aligned countries' bloc. This is a victory of great significance of our people on the world's arena.

Last year, many more countries recognized and established diplomatic relations with the RSVN including Somalia, Chile, Uganda and the Republic of Guinea, raising to 30 the number of countries which have recognized the RSVN PRG. Besides, many nationalist and capitalist countries which have deep sympathy with our people's resistance, have recognized the RSVN de facto and established relations with the PRG in one form or another.

Together with the successes on the diplomatic front and of our international activities, the successes in the development of our State's diplomatic relations in the past year contributed to raising the role and position of the South Viet Nam revolution, intensifying and expanding the front of international solidarity with Viet Nam against US aggression and defeating all perfidious diplomatic moves of the Nixon administration.

V — In 1973 on the diplomatic front we must concentrate effort on co-ordinating with and actively serving the military and political fields to contribute to foiling the "Vietnamization of the war" strategy and smashing the dark scheme of the US to continue the war of aggression and its involvement with a view to turning South Viet Nam into a neo-colony of the US and perpetuating the partition of Viet Nam.

... Through a year of fierce fighting against the enemy on all fronts, military, diplomatic and political, the liberation forces and people in South Viet Nam together with rest of the people overcame many hardships and made innumerable sacrifices and gained many great and steady victories that have changed the balance of forces in favor of us and opened bright prospects for our anti-US resistance for national salvation. Though being defeated in both parts of Viet Nam and met many difficulties on all fronts, the Nixon administration still clings to its perfidious scheme of aggression against our country, continues committing bloody crimes against our people across the country. At the same time the United States has restored to many tricky methods to deceive public opinion and carry on its dark design.

In face of this situation, on the diplomatic front, we must coordinate with and wholeheartedly back our military and political activities so as to help defeat the "Vietnamization of the war "strategy of the US and smashed all its scheme of continuing the war of aggression against the Vietnamese people and its involvement with a view to turning South Viet Nam into a neo-colony of the United States and perpetuating the partition of our country.

On the diplomatic and political fields, we will firmly maintain our stand while continuing to manifest our goodwill in face of the obdurate stand and treacherous attitude of the US-puppet in order to force the United States to end its war of aggression and its involvement in South Viet Nam, respect the sovereignty of the Vietnamese people and the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people and sign at once the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam " reached with the DRVN on October 20, 1972.

We will strengthen the unity among the Indochinese peoples and together with our kith and kin in the North and the fraternal Cambodian and Lao peoples, persist in and step up the anti-US resistance for the independence and freedom of each country. We will strive to continue to win the sympathy and support of the socialist countries, nationalist countries and the justice-and peace-loving people all over the world including the progressive people in America for the struggle against the US imperialists for national salvation of our people and the peoples of Lao and Cambodia till its total victory.

In the impetus of the victory on the battlefield and upholding the banner of justice and victory, we are convinced that the whole progressive mankind will stand by our side and give their wholehearted support to our sacred struggle for national salvation till final victory.

AN EPOCH-MAKING VICTORY

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truly free and democratic general elections. The parties concerned in South Viet Nam will come to terms on the formation of Committees of National Reconciliation and Concord at various echelons which will be entrusted with the responsibility of seeing to the implementation of the agreement signed, settlement of differences and preparation for the general election. Pending national reunification, normal relations between North and South will be promptly reestablished.

OUR people's confrontation with US aggression was their greatest and most heroic battle. The glory of its successful outcome lies in the fact that the mightiest forces of aggression of human history were checked. The triump of our first resistance had given a push to the collapse of old-type colonialism. That of our second resistance has shattered the main stay of neo-colonialism, triggered off and accelerated its downfall and impelled various revolutionary trends on the earth.

It can be ascribed to a high-level bringing into play of the nation's 4-thousand year old tradition of heroism and to its combination with the invincible revolutionary thoughts of our era. For it, we express our boundless gratitude to President Ho Chi Minh, the mentor of the Vietnamese revolution and beloved leader of our nation as a whole, who upheld the spirit of independence and sovereignty and wedded unalloyed patriotism to the revolutionary tenets of our times into a decisive force in our undertaking.

Imbued with his enlightened teachings, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam held high the liberation standard, charted the right path for the South Vietnamese Revolution and were the architects of all successes of the South Vietnamese people.

Our fatherland will ever treasure with high appreciation the memories of the legion of braves in both zones who have laid down their lives and the services of a host of heroes and other members of our community in the fight for independence and freedom.

It is with profound emotion that we recall the blood-sealed affection which kept North and South together throughout the two resistance wars of the last three decades. The North, revolutionary base of the whole land, thwarted one after another two US air and naval wars while pushing up economic and cultural construction and wholeheartedly assisting the South.

We take immense pride in Hanoi, the great heart of the fatherland, which distinguished itself most signally by standing up successfully and devastatingly to the US blitz and won an aerial Dien Bien Phu thereby helping bring our struggle against US aggression to fruition.

OUR victory is also a common one to the three peoples of Indochina and to the world's forces fighting for independence, peace, democracy and social progress. Part of the credit for it must go to our friends in the five continents who shared woe and weal with us and opposed the US imperialists and their confederates for our sake. On this exultant occasion, we convey to them our heartfelt thanks.

A radical change has been brought to the situation of our country and a new stage ushered in for our revolution in South Viet Nam, as a result of the ending of US aggression, of US withdrawal from South Viet Nam and of the abolition of US neo-colonialist domination.

Under the revolutionary power, we, South Vietnamese, will strive to lick into shape our independence and democracy and mould a new life of freedom and happiness.

The greatest obstacles in our way now are the die-hard factions of imperialism and foreign-dependent elements bent on preserving neo-colonialism, imposing their dictatorship and thwarting our people's aspirations for peace, independence, democracy and national concord. But at this juncture, the forces of reaction are on the wane. Following up their dramatic advance, our people will raise high the banner of national unity and concord, jealous of peace, independence and freedom. They will bend all their mental and physical energies to bring the battle for liberation to triumph and build an independent and free political regime, a prosperous and sovereign economy and a life free from want and care, along the line mapped out by the appeal of the Central Committee of the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

ANOTHER chapter of our nation's history has been turned over. We in South Viet Nam still have a battle to fight to preserve the fruits of the revolution, to get the Paris Agreement to be fully and strictly implemented, to keep peace lasting and our independence whole. The war is over but not our vigilant endeavour to consolidate our all-round strength, and to maintain our readiness to deal with any aggressive or warlike move of the imperialists and their agents.

There are still heaps of difficulties lying ahead. But with the present auspicious conditions to our advantage, we shall be able to make giant strides and give our land the proportions expected by our times.

SOUTH VIET NAM

SOUTH VIET NAM CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION